UNITED
NATIONS

S

Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/1995/163
28 February 1995

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL MISSION TO BURUNDI ON 10 AND 11 FEBRUARY 1995

Letter of transmittal

Letter dated 28 February 1995 from the members of the Security Council mission to Burundi addressed to the President of the Security Council

We have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the Security Council's mission to Burundi, which took place on 10 and 11 February 1995. The report is submitted to the Council in accordance with a decision taken by the Council during information consultations on 6 February 1995.

(Signed) Ibrahim A. GAMBARI (Nigeria)
Chairman of the Mission

(Signed) Li ZHAOXING (China)

(Signed) Karel KOVANDA (Czech Republic)

(Signed) Gerhard HENZE (Germany)

(Signed) Julio RENDON BARNICA (Honduras)

(Signed) Nugroho WISNUMURTI (Indonesia)

(Signed) Karl F. INDERFURTH (United States of America)

Annex

Report of the Security Council mission to Burundi on 10 and 11 February 1995

[Original: English/French]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. On 6 February 1995, the Security Council, in informal consultations, decided to send a mission to Burundi. The mission arrived at Bujumbura in the morning of 10 February 1995.

2. The mission was led by H.E. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Permanent Representative of Nigeria. Its members included H.E. Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China), H.E. Mr. Karel Kovanda (Czech Republic), Mr. Gerhard Henze (Germany), Mr. Julio Rendon Barnica (Honduras), H.E. Mr. Nugroho Wisnumurti (Indonesia) and Mr. Karl F. Inderfurth (United States of America).

3. The terms of reference of the mission (see S/1995/112) were:

(a) To hold consultations with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the situation regarding political and security developments and his efforts in this regard and on additional ways in which the United Nations might further underpin his efforts;

(b) To hold talks with the President, the Prime Minister, the leadership of the security forces and the leaders of the opposition parties as well as United Nations agencies, members of the diplomatic corps, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) the Office of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other interested parties and convey to them the serious concerns of the Security Council over the recent political developments in Burundi;

(c) To stress to all the parties the strong support of the Security Council for the Convention of government of 10 September 1994 and the Government constituted on the basis of it and for the process of national reconciliation, and the Council's rejection of all attempts to undermine them or to destabilize the region;

(d) To submit a report to the Council.

4. The mission followed up on work done by an earlier Security Council mission to Burundi (see S/1994/1039).

5. The mission held in-depth consultations with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ahmedou Ould Abdallah. It also held very useful meetings with most of the important leaders of the country, the leadership of the security forces, heads of political parties and members of the diplomatic corps. Meetings were also held with the representative of the OAU, representatives of NGOs and United Nations agencies active in Burundi, as well as with other dignitaries (see appendices I and II).

II. BACKGROUND TO THE VISIT

6. The political crisis of the summer of 1994, over electing the President of the country, was resolved on 10 September 1994 when the Forum of Negotiations reached a first agreement on power-sharing and most political parties signed the Convention of government ("the Convention"). The Convention provided, inter alia, for a Government of 25 members (55 per cent from the presidential majority, 45 per cent from the opposition minority) appointed by the President; a four-year transitional period; the appointment of a Prime Minister from among the opposition, who would countersign the President's decisions; and the creation of a National Security Council of 10 members, equitably divided between the Front pour la démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU) and the opposition. All these steps would follow the election of the President.

7. On 18 September, the Forum of Negotiations reached a second agreement on the modalities for appointing the new President, which became an annex to the Convention. All political parties except the Parti pour le redressement national (PARENA), headed by former President Bagaza, signed the Convention and its annex. On 30 September 1994, the interim President, Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, the official candidate of FRODEBU, was elected by the National Assembly by 68 votes to 1. On 1 October, he was sworn in as definitive President of the country.

8. On 3 October, the Prime Minister, Anatole Kanyenkiko, was confirmed in office and on 5 October he formed a new Government of national unity, consisting of 13 parties (see appendix III). Six small opposition parties did not obtain posts in the Government, and this later became a point of contention.

9. In a report to the Security Council of 9 October 1994 (S/1994/1152), the Secretary-General noted that, although the situation had stabilized somewhat with the election of a new President, it still remained precarious and the international community should therefore continue encouraging the moderate forces in Burundi.

10. The fragility of the situation was underlined by the crisis concerning the proposed nomination of the Speaker of the National Assembly. The presidential appointment of Mr. Jean Minani (FRODEBU) was contested by the Union pour le progrès national (UPRONA), which accused Mr. Minani of having incited violence following the attempted coup of 1993. Although Mr. Minani denied these allegations, the crisis was resolved only when he relinquished the post of Speaker. The Secretary-General of FRODEBU, Mr. Leonce Ngendakumana, was appointed Speaker on 12 January.

11. The Minani crisis prompted UPRONA to demand that the Prime Minister, Mr. Kanyenkiko, who was viewed by some as having behaved too moderately during the crisis, resign in solidarity with his party. The Prime Minister, however, refused. UPRONA thereupon decided to expel him from the party, a decision which Mr. Kanyenkiko considered null and void.

12. That crisis was the beginning of concerted attacks on the Prime Minister and his Cabinet by extremist elements of his own party, UPRONA. These attacks culminated on 30 January when Mr. Charles Mukasi, the leader of UPRONA, called

for the Government to be "overthrown by all means" if a new Prime Minister did not immediately replace Mr. Kanyenkiko.

13. In view of this increasingly unstable situation, the President of the Security Council made a statement on 31 January 1995 (S/PRST/1995/5) in which the Council called upon all parties and other concerned to give support to the government institutions established in line with the Convention. The Secretary-General also issued a press statement on the issue on 1 February. It was in this highly charged atmosphere that the mission was dispatched.

III. OBSERVATIONS OF THE MISSION

14. The political and security situation remains precarious and is potentially explosive. Extremist elements, both Tutsi and Hutu, both within the coalition Government and outside it, have for their own reasons not accepted the power-sharing arrangements contained in the Convention. Those extremists have usurped the political initiative, at the expense of the moderate elements who constitute the majority of the population and have been silenced through threat and intimidation. This is the root cause of continuing political instability in the country.

15. The linchpin of the stability of the country is the Convention and the coalition Government. There are systematic and persistent efforts by extremist forces, notably those among the ranks of UPRONA, to undermine the coalition Government. They use various tactics, including inflammatory statements, calls for "dead city" strikes, street demonstrations, intimidation and incitement to violence.

16. Other extremist influences on the political and security situation in Burundi include the former Interior Minister Nyangoma, now active outside the country, and Palipehutu guerillas operating in the country's hinterland. Both are extremist forces recruited from the majority Hutu population. On the Tutsi side, the former President Bagaza and his PARENA party do not support the Convention and instead call for a national conference that would in effect ignore and cast aside the results of Burundi's democratic elections of 1993. Activities of all these extremist forces have also contributed to crippling the coalition Government and putting its future in doubt, thus undermining peace and stability in Burundi.

17. Further aggravating the situation is the fact that the security forces, which are mainly Tutsi, constitute an independent power centre, and their support of the coalition Government cannot be taken for granted.

18. The persistence of a culture of impunity constitutes a fundamental problem in Burundi. In particular, there has been no accountability, political or judicial, on the part of those directly involved in the October 1993 coup attempt and the massacre that ensued. In addition, the judicial system has largely collapsed and is often perceived as being partial. These factors jeopardize the survival of the coalition Government, the Convention and even peace and security in Burundi and in the region as a whole.

19. The presence of the OAU military observers is considered to be useful, but their effectiveness is limited by the restraints imposed on them by the Burundi security forces, which hamper their freedom of movement, and also by the fact that the present number (46) is far from adequate.

20. The Security Council's presidential statement of 31 January 1995 (S/PRST/1995/5) and its mission to Burundi underscored the support of the international community for the coalition Government and the Convention and may have contributed, however temporarily, to the easing of tension in the country.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

21. An international commission of inquiry into the October 1993 coup attempt and the massacres that followed, which was proposed by the Government in accordance with the Convention, should be established as soon as possible.

22. The mission recommends that the Council considers augmenting the United Nations presence in Burundi, under the direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and in close cooperation and coordination with the relevant departments, in order to assist capacity-building by the Government of Burundi in the areas of:

(a) Building an impartial judicial system;

(b) Civilian police training, impartial investigations and support services, especially in urban centres;

(c) Establishing an effective administrative presence in the provinces.

23. The number (46) of OAU observers needs to be substantially increased and restrictions on their movement should be removed.

24. The mission recommends that the Council encourage the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to deploy human rights monitors throughout the country, as requested by the Minister for External Relations and Cooperation of Burundi, taking into account the need for human rights monitors to operate under secure conditions and with sufficient mobility and equipment.

25. The mission strongly supports the implementation of the provision of the Convention of government to hold a national debate that would allow the participation of all segments of society, as a means of fostering political dialogue in the country.

26. The mission recommends that visits to Burundi of high-level international delegations, which underscore the continued concern of the international community and help to diffuse the tension, should be continued.

27. In their efforts to promote political stability and national reconciliation, some members of the mission believe that the Security Council should explore the possibility of imposing selective sanctions against individuals believed to belong to extremist groups in Burundi, such as denial of

entry visas and freezing of their foreign accounts, while other members take the view that selective sanctions against individuals may be counter-productive.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

28. The members of the mission would like to express their strong support for the continued efforts towards peace and stability in Burundi made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and his staff.

29. The mission wishes to express its gratitude and appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and members of his staff for the valuable assistance rendered to it during the visit to Burundi.

Appendix I

Programme of the Security Council mission to Burundi

Friday, 10 February 1995

1000 hours	Briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Ahmedou Ould Abdallah
1030 hours	Meeting with the Minister of External Relations and Cooperation, Mr. Jean-Marie Ngendahayo
1140 hours	Meeting with the Minister of National Defence, Major Firmin Sinzoyiheba, the Chief of Staff of the Army, Colonel Jean Bikomagu and the Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerie, Colonel Sebastien Bahebura
1300 hours	Working lunch with the Minister of External Relations and the Minister of National Defence
1540 hours	Meeting with the heads of the political parties signatory to the Convention of government
1840 hours	Meeting with the Special Representative of OAU, Amb. Bassole
1915 hours	Meeting with former President Pierre Buyoya
2130 hours	Meeting with the President of UPRONA, Mr. Charles Mukasi

Saturday, 11 February 1995

0800 hours	Meeting with the heads of United Nations agencies
0930 hours	Meeting with Western ambassadors and ambassadors of Security Council permanent member States
1050 hours	Meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Anatole Kanyenkiko
1230 hours	Working lunch with representatives of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations
1410 hours	Meeting with the Ambassador of Egypt, the Chargé d'affaires of Zaire and the First Counsellor of Rwanda
1500 hours	Meeting with former President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza
1600 hours	Meeting with members of the Forum of Negotiations
1645 hours	Meeting with the President of the Republic, Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya

1825 hours Meeting with the President of the National Assembly, Mr. Leonce Ngendakumana

Sunday, 12 February 1995

0830 hours Departure for Kigali, Rwanda

Appendix II

List of official contacts

1. Government of Burundi

Mr. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, President of the Republic
Mr. Anatole Kanyenkiko, Prime Minister
Mr. Jean-Marie Ngendahayo, Minister of External Relations and Cooperation
Major Firmin Sinzoyiheba, Minister of National Defence
Colonel Jean Bikomagu, Chief of Staff of the Army
Colonel Sebastien Bahebura, Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerie
Mr. Leonce Ngendakumana, President of the National Assembly

2. Former leaders of Burundi

Former President Pierre Buyoya
Former President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza

3. Political parties and organizations

Mr. Jean Minani, President of the Front pour la démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU) (majority party)
Mr. Charles Mukasi, President of the Union pour le progrès National (UPRONA) (opposition party)
Mr. Schadrack Niyonkuru, President of the Parti du peuple (majority party)
Mr. Ernest Kabushemeye, President of the Parti du rassemblement du peuple burundais (RPB) (majority party)
Mr. Alphonse Rugambarara, President of the Inkinzo-PPO (opposition party)
Mr. Vincent Ndikumasabo, President of the Parti social démocrate (PSD) (opposition party)
Mr. Gaëtan Nikobamye, President of the Parti libéral (majority party)
Mr. Mathias Hitimana, President of the Parti pour la réconciliation du peuple (opposition party)
Mr. Therence Nsanze, President of the Alliance burundo-africaine pour le salut (ABASA) (opposition party)
Mr. Vincent Kubwimana, Secretary-General of the Confédération des Syndicats Libres du Burundi
Mr. Antoine Nijembazi, Vice-President of the Association des Employeurs du Burundi

4. Diplomatic corps

The mission of the Security Council met with the ambassadors of the following United Nations Member States:

Belgium
China
Egypt
Germany
Rwanda
Russian Federation
United States of America
Zaire

5. Non-governmental organizations

Mr. Thomas Gonnet, Action Internationale contre la Faim (AICF)
Père Yves Brasseur, Jesuit Refugee Service
Mrs. Dina Lodolo-Zanardi, Federation of Italian NGOs
Mr. Wiles and Ms. Hall, OXFAM
Mr. Swen Lampell, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
Mr. Javier Gabaldon, Médecins sans Frontières - Belgium
Mr. James O'Connor, Catholic Relief Services
Mr. Philip Christensen, Care-Canada
Abbé Onesiphore, CED-CARITAS

Appendix III

Recognized political parties*

1. Charles Mukasi, President of UPRONA - PPO
2. Mathias Hitimana, President of PRP - PPO
3. Schadrack Niyonkuru, President of the Parti du peuple - FCD
4. Cyrille Singejeje, President of RADDES - PPO
5. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, President of FRODEBU - FCD
6. Ignace Bankamwabo, President of ANADDE - PPO
7. Ernest Kabushemeye, President of RPB - FCD
8. Nicéphore Ndimurukundo, President of the Parti indépendent des travailleurs - PPO
9. Alphonse Rugambarara, President of Inkinzo - PPO
10. Thérence Nsanze, President of ABASA - PPO
11. Vincent Ndikumasabo, President of PSD - PPO
12. Gaëtan Nikobamye, President of the Parti libéral - FCD
13. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, President of PARENA - PPO

---

* PPO = Opposition parties.
FCD = Majority parties.